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be for us to be directed to fill up an official document using the maiden name of our mother in place of our own surname. 613

THE CLAN

Beyond the inner ring formed by the lineage, there is an outer ring of persons with whom the child, as he grows older, will find himself in association. This outer ring embraces all those people belonging to the same clan as himself, wherever they may live. The collective word in the Petats dialect for the people standing to an individual in this wider association is *suɲut*, and in the Kurtatchi dialect *wūti* (clan). But when persons included in this group are referred to individually, a Kurtatchi man will often use the same term as for members of his lineage, calling them *boanē* (meaning 'my clansmen'). It is usually perfectly clear from the context whether the word is being used in its wider or in its narrower sense, but if it is necessary to emphasize the distinction still more, he will explain the former as *pes wūti*, 'of one clan', and the latter as *boanē tsūn*, or *boanē kuruts*, my 'real', or 'true' kinsfolk. 614

The child's association with his clansmen will depend, naturally, to some extent upon their place of residence. With those who live in the same village he feels himself more closely associated than with those who live afar off. But he applies the same term also to clansmen in other villages, and there is no doubt that the bond is a real, though rather vague one. It is, however, weaker to-day than in the olden time, since there is no longer any call to support one's clansmen in battle.

On visiting another village, a man will first of all seek out his clansmen, who will sponsor him during his stay. Those of his own sex whom he knows personally he calls *kiar*, even if there be no blood relationship between them. This term is also used in a narrower sense for those of his siblings who are of the same sex as himself. When inquiring about a man who was thus specified, but who did not appear anywhere in the speaker's genealogy, I often received the explanation 'He is not my real brother (*kiar tsūn*), but we belong to the same clan (*pes wūti*)'. 574 601 614

Throughout the whole area with which this book is concerned, there are at the present time two important clans. In most places they are designated Naboin and Nakarib. They are not, however, to be regarded as moieties indicating a dual organization, at any rate at the present time, because in some villages there are also 614

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other clans, and even where only the two above mentioned were represented at the time of my inquiry, it was stated that there had been others which might be reintroduced at any time by marriage. Naboin and Nakarib are everywhere recognized as the most important, as they are the most numerous, but it was made quite clear to me that the others are not in any sense regarded as subdivisions of these, but as standing in their own right.

With every clan there is associated the name of a certain creature, generally, but not always, a bird. This association inevitably suggests totemism, but many of the recognized features of totemism as it is generally understood are here absent. The word totem is used in what follows with the reservations hereinafter to be made clear.

The clans and their associated totems will first be discussed with reference to the local differences which exist in various parts of the area.

Clans of Buka

On the island of Buka and its adjacent islets there are, in general, only two clans represented at the present time. They are called, over most of the island, Naboin and Nakarib, the same as the two chief clans on Bougainville. But on Petats and some of the other islands they are always referred to by the name of the birds associated with them, Manu being invariably substituted for Naboin and Kekeleo for Nakarib. The Petats word for 'bird' is *malai*, and in inquiring to which clan an individual belongs the appropriate formula is: *Sā a malai tamulo?* 'What is your bird?' I understood from the Petats people that *mānu* was an eagle.[1] Mr. Gordon Thomas, speaking of the island of Poroŕan, refers to it as a hawk (1931, p. 227). I did not see this bird on the island of Petats, but the bird pointed out to me as *mānu* at Kurtatchi was certainly an eagle, though of what species I cannot say. *Kekelēo* (or *kililiau*, the pronunciation differs slightly in different villages) is a somewhat vague term, which might be translated 'fowl', and while applied primarily to the bush-fowl or megapode, is used on Petats to refer to the domestic variety, the bush fowl being referred to as *holoy*. On Petats, at any rate, the terms Manu and Kekeleo were used

[1] It is not the frigate-bird as stated by Parkinson ('07, p. 481). The frigate-bird is known to these people; it follows the shoals of bonito, but it plays no part in their culture comparable to that which it fills in other islands of the Solomon group.

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solely as names for the clans, and their connexion with the birds bearing those names appeared to have lost all its significance.

On the Lontis coast (north-west Buka) the two clans are called Lemanmanu and Lemankoa (associated with *mānu* and *kekelēo*) respectively. At Hanahan, on the east coast, they used the name Naboin for the clan associated with *mānu* and Lemankoa for the other, but they said that its *malai* was not *kekelēo* but *koto'ina*, 'a big bird that catches fish in the sea'. This appears to be the fish-hawk, and the word is the same as that which appears in the Kurtatchi dialect, with that meaning, as *katoi'ian*. In the hill district of Buka they use the term Naboin for the clan associated with *mānu*, and Nakarib for that associated with *kekelēo*.

In some of the Buka villages there are a few individuals who belong to a clan called Nakas, associated with the dog. At Novar this clan was described as 'half Manu, half Kekeleo', which may refer to the belief that its first member was the child of a Naboin man and a Nakarib woman, as given in the Saposa myth discussed on p. 38. At the village of Tung, Nakas was described as a new clan. At Petats they said that there used to be representatives of Nakas, but that they were all dead. It might be revived in the future, if any of the Petats men were to marry a woman of that clan from elsewhere and she were to come and live at Petats.

Clans of North Bougainville

On the north coast of Bougainville the list of clans varies slightly in different villages. I give all those which came to my notice, passing along the coast from west to east (see map).

In the group of little islands called collectively Saposa, three different lists were given to me on separate occasions. The names of the clans agree in all, but not the associated totems. The man who gave me the third list volunteered the information that the first two, Nakarib and Naboin, belonged to the olden days when there was much fighting. But the two old women who told the story of the origin of the clans, stated emphatically that Morena gave the people all the clans in the olden days.

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1. *List of clans at Saposa*

Names.	*Associated totems as given by:*		
	Two old women.	*Old man*	*Middle-aged man.*
1. Nakarib	Katoian (hawk)	Katoian (hawk)	Katoian (hawk)
2. Naboin	Manu (eagle)	Manu (eagle)	Manu (eagle)

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Names.	*Associated totems as given by:*		
	Two old women.	*Old man.*	*Middle-aged man.*
3. Nakas	Kavkavkuk (a bird)	Tsiako (parrot)	Tubuil (red parrot)
4. Nagai	Tʃitʃio (hornbill)	Tʃitʃio	Tabatʃin (black gull)
5. Fanaŋif[1]	Tortsiriri (small forest bird)	Tsubuir (a bird)	Tubuku (white cockatoo)
6. Konofats	Kuro (dove)	Fue (crocodile)	Tʃako (red and green parrot)

2. *Tabut.*

1. Naboin (Manu, eagle)
2. Nakarib (Katoi'ian, hawk)
3. Natasi (Polasanu, bird with white neck-feathers)
4. Nakas (Kas, dog)
5. Natʃi (Tʃitʃio, hornbill)

Nakas at present unrepresented.

3. *Kurtatchi.*

1. Nakarib (Katoi'ian, hawk)
2. Naboin (Manu, eagle)
3. Nakas (Polasanu, same bird as given for Natasi at Tabut)
4. Natʃi (Tʃitʃio, hornbill)

Only one representative of Nakas. Natʃi at present unrepresented.

4. *Ruri.*

1. Naboin (Manu, eagle)
2. Nakarib (Katoi'ian, hawk)
3. Nakas (Kas, dog)
4. Natasi (Dogo), hornbill)

5. *Baniu.*

1. Naboin (Manu, eagle)
2. Nakarib (Katoi'ian, hawk)
3. Natʃi (Tʃitʃio, hornbill)
4. Nakes or Tokes (Tamanupe, bird with white neck, apparently the same as Polasanu)

6. *Hahon district.*

1. Naboin (Manu, eagle)
2. Nakarib (Kariba, small animal like an opossum, perhaps a tree-rat)
3. Nakas (Kas, dog)

7. *Tiop.*

1. Naboin (Wai'eta, eagle, explained as the same as Manu)
2. Nakarib (Kariba, tree-rat)
3. Nawaniu (Iowa, megapode)
4. Namai (Tabasiena, small bird living in mangrove swamp)
5. Nakahi (Kahi, dog)
6. Natahi (Tahi, sea)
7. Nomtana (Kuho, rat)
8. Amara (Gorato, turtle)

In these lists the clans are given in the order of their importance, according to each informant, but in no case was there any idea present in the mind of the speaker that any of them were sub-

[1] The Sapoes dialect is the only one in this area which has the *f* sound.

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divisions of Naboin or Nakarib.[1] As a matter of fact, representatives of the others were so few in number in the villages I knew most intimately, that to all intents and purposes the organization might have been a dual one, and in view of this, and of the variations in the totems of the others, it is perhaps permissible to hazard a suggestion that these are the original clans, the others being newer developments, in spite of their occurrence in the origin myth given on p. 38. The substitution of Kariba, apparently a species of tree-rat, for Katoi'ian, hawk, in the Hahon district might perhaps be explained on the ground that as it is a little distance inland, the fish-hawk would not be so much in evidence, but this does not account for the substitution in the case of Tiop, which is a small island off the Bougainville coast.

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ORIGIN OF CLANS AND TOTEMS

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It does not seem to be thought that the people are descended from the creature whose name is associated with their clan. The origin myth is the same, with local variations, throughout the area, and the same myth is also widespread in other parts of Melanesia. One version of it has been given in full in my paper in *Folk-Lore* (1932, p. 67), where reference is made to parallels in other places. The essential features of the story are as follows: An old woman, whose name differs in the different versions of the tale as I heard it in several villages, is left behind when all the people flee in their canoes before a terrible monster, in some villages said to be a spirit, in some a giant, and in others a wild pig, who ravaged the land. Left alone, she copulates with a banana, and in course of time bears two sons, who, when fully grown, kill the monster. When this becomes known, the people who fled return, among them two girls who become the wives of the two brothers. From these two couples all the people are descended. In one version, obtained from the village of Kohiso in the hill district of central Buka, the end of the story is that the two brothers were turned into birds,

[1] Such information as I was able to collect during a short visit to the Kunua mountain district of central Bougainville indicates that in that area, where the culture differs considerably from that of the coast, there are actually two primary divisions, each divided into several subsidiary clans, the names of which were given as follows: Kérakera (Eagle) division: Tókora, Arási, Aratawérit, Arawétaia, Téwo. Hubúrifa (Hornbill) division: Anakópu, Bwatasféra, Tásu'ul, Aitetái'a, Bukapuné'e. No meaning was assigned to the words used for the subdivisions. Unfortunately, my opportunities for investigation in this area were very limited.

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614 773 but the kind of bird is not specified, and this particular version omits the statement that all the people are descended from the sons of the old woman, so it provides no clue as to the ideas held about the original relation of the people to the birds whose names they have given to their clans.

At Saposa I obtained a version of the myth which differs from the others in passing briefly over the incidents connected with the monster, which figure largely in all the rest, but giving in detail the [115] origin of the clans from the children born to the old woman. I got it from two very old women, Temin and Bo'in. They told it, with endless repetitions and digressions, throughout the whole of a long day, in snatches, with intervals for rest, for they were very feeble and quickly became tired. It was like listening to the recital of an epic. Even through the quavering whimper of extreme age, one felt that the speakers were telling what was to them no mere tale, but a recital of truths that went to the very roots of the life of their people. The portion of the story that is relevant to the subject under discussion is here given in somewhat abbreviated form, as the disconnected way in which it was told makes it hard to follow in literal translation.

The old woman is here called Morena. The first part of the story, as told in other places, how all the people ran away from the monster and left her alone, was omitted; it begins at the point where Morena wished to put an end to the pig who had frightened away the rest of the people and threatened to eat her.

582 614 773 She said: 'There is no one to give me a child, I think I had better try with a banana.' So she took two bananas and copulated with them. Then she became pregnant, and the first child to be born was a girl. 'Ah, that is no use.' So she copulated again with bananas, and became pregnant again, and another child was born, this time it was a boy. 'That's all right, presently the pig will be killed.' She copulated again, and bore another girl, so now she had two girls. She said to them: 'You must be the wives of my son.' So her two children copulated, and the girl bore a child. Then Morena said: 'These are your clans. One of you belongs to Nakarib, one of you belongs to Naboin, and as for your children, they belong to Nakas.' Now at first there were no other clans, they came later. The boy who was Naboin copulated with the girl who was Nakarib, the girl bore a female child who was Nakas. Now Morena forbade the child Nakas to copulate with Naboin, because he was her father. So Morena copulated again with a banana, but the child she bore was a girl, she called her Nagai. Again she copulated, and bore

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a male child, Konofats. He married the girl Nagai. Morena copulated again with a banana, and bore a male child, Faŋanif. She told Faŋanif to marry the girl Nakas.[1] She copulated once more, a Naboin girl was born, and later another boy, Faŋanif, who married the Naboin girl. Then she said: 'That is enough now. Now you must not marry back into your own clan. All the Nakarib people are kinsmen, all the Naboin people are kinsmen. If a Nakarib man likes a Naboin woman, he must bring payment, then he can take her. But if one of you takes a woman belonging to his own clan, then you must kill him.'

The story goes on to tell, at great length, how Morena made the land for them, and gave them all their several portions of it, and taught them how to get food for themselves, and all kinds of crafts. Finally, she gave each of the clans a bird: to Nakarib *katoi'ian* (hawk), to Naboin *mānu* (eagle), to Nakas *kavkavkuk* (a bird with white feathers on its neck), to Nagai *tʃitʃio* (hornbill), to Faŋanif *tortʃiriri* (a small bird which lives in thick forest), to Konofats *kūrō* (dove).

At this point the two old women said that was the end of the story. After a while they told another, of how Morena was responsible for putting the man in the moon, but I could not get them back to the subject of the clans, nor find out their relation to the birds that Morena had given them. A version of the same story obtained at Tiop, however, carries it a stage farther. Here the woman is called Topisbi'ē. When enough children have been born, and she has assigned a clan to each of them, she says to them: 'You, Naboin, must not eat the eagle. You, Natchi, must not play too much in the sea. You, Nakahi, must never kill a dog. You, Nawaniu, must not chase the bush-fowl. You, Amara, must not play with the turtles. These things you must tell to all the children who are kin to you.' But on my asking whether the people observed these restrictions at the present time, I was told that they did not.

It seems clear that the people are not thought to be descended from the birds associated with the various clans, and no information obtained from other sources gave any indication of the existence of such a belief. In all discussions the origin of the clans and their association with their totems was referred to this same

[1] At the present time the rule is that a member of any clan may marry a member of any clan except his own. But marriages of people belonging to the same clan occur at Sapoas as well as elsewhere.

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myth, with only one exception. This is a single story collected at Kurtatchi, which explains the association of the clan Natchi with the hornbill as follows:

> A boy went and asked his mother for taro. His mother said: 'Why should I give you taro? Do you work in the taro garden?' Then she gave him a basket of stones. The boy said: 'All right, by and by you will be looking for me all the time, but I shall stay away.' Then he went away. Then his father cried: '*Tiragu!* (Alas!) my child has gone away.' He climbed up a bread-fruit tree, he sat down at the top of it, just like a bird. His father tried to catch him. He went on to another branch. His father went up, he went on to another branch. His father climbed after him. He went on to another tree, an almond. He was really a bird now, he ate almonds. His father tried to hold him, he jumped on to another branch, he went on to a banyan. Two legs grew on to him, the legs of a bird. He was just like a bird now, two wings came. He jumped on to another tree. The bird's head appeared. Then he went on to a banyan. His father climbed the banyan, he tried hard to catch him. But he went right away, he had turned into a bird. The bird was a hornbill. His father cried about him. Now all his clansmen are called Natchi.

Here again there seems to be no notion of descent, but there may perhaps be a reference to the custom of changing the names of a person's kinsmen at his death.

It would appear, therefore, that one feature deemed to be characteristic of totemism, i.e. descent from the totemic creature, is definitely absent from this area.

There is also lacking all idea that the associated creature ever helps the human beings belonging to the clan. In one case it is actually said to harm them. It is said that Manu, the eagle, takes children who belong to the Naboin clan up to his nest, and that if Naboin men go up to a nest where there are young the eagle kills them; he would be 'ashamed' to do this to members of the other clans.

No reverence is paid to the associated creature by members of the clan which bears its name, neither, so far as I am aware, are any ceremonies held in connexion with it. In former times a man would not kill the creature of his clan, but a member of another clan might kill it without arousing his anger. At Petats they said that a Kekeleo man might eat fowl. The eagle is not eaten anywhere, but I gathered that this is because it is not considered to be

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good for food, rather than because of its association with the clan Naboin. 614 ● 773

Summarizing the conditions obtaining in this area in regard to totemism—if totemism it is to be called—we find the following state of affairs prevailing at the present time: The people are divided into groups each having a certain relationship to a species, animate or inanimate, which is of the same general kind for each group, and a member of one of these totemic groups cannot (except under special circumstances, such as adoption) change his membership. This is the minimum definition of totemism 'in the widest use of the term' as given in *Notes and Queries* (p. 76). But when we come to examine the nature of the 'certain relationship', we find it amounting to little more than the use of the creature's name. The totemic species is not regarded as an ancestor. It is not now treated with reverence or made the subject of any avoidances, though there is some evidence that this may have been the case in the past. I do not think that the breakdown, supposing it to be such, is due to contact with the white man. From the way in which the natives spoke of these things it seemed more likely that it happened long before the influence of the whites began to be felt in this area, and that possibly the bond between the totemic species and the clan associated with it was never very close.

MEMBERSHIP OF CLANS

If questioned, any native will say that a man should marry a woman of a clan other than his own. Since the clans Naboin and Nakarib are by far the most numerous, the majority of marriages take place between these two. Where there are other clans, there does not appear to be, at the present time, any definite system of inter-clan mating, at least, so I was informed, and none is shown in the small amount of genealogical material I collected at Saposa. But my experience of places where clans other than Naboin and Nakarib were well represented is too limited to justify any statement as to whether this was or was not the case in times past. 614 582

Both at Petats and at Kurtatchi, while clan exogamy is the recognized rule, it appears never to have been inviolable. In my genealogies there are repeated instances of men marrying women of their own clan, and these occur not only in the present generation, but as far back as my information extends, i.e. at least two generations ago. Since this goes back to the grand-parental generation of

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informants now advanced in years, it cannot be the result of a breakdown of the native system due to the influence of white contact. It is considered to be in order if the two parties to such a marriage belong to different villages, as is usually the case, since the custom is for the mate to be sought outside the village. But it occasionally happens that two people of the same clan marry even if they live in the same village, provided they do not belong to any of the prohibited relationships. It is clear that the tie of blood is considered more important than the clan, since the prohibited relationships are not confined to clansmen, as will be shown in a subsequent paragraph.

The children belong to the clan of their mother. To this rule there is no exception, in the ordinary course of affairs. But if a clan is greatly diminished in numbers it may adopt an infant of another clan, with the consent of the clan to which the individual belongs by right of birth. For example, if a Nakarib woman has a child, and the Naboin people wish to adopt it, a man of importance of the Naboin clan makes a feast and gives the child its name. It is then said to belong to the Naboin clan, and can use the Naboin decoration, and, if a boy, frequents the men's house belonging to the Naboin people. The members of his new clan are expected to provide for him in future, and though his mother may continue, if she so desire, to give him food beyond the time of suckling, she is in no way bound to do so. She must not continue to care for him otherwise; this is the duty of the adopting clan, and would be undertaken by the women belonging to the lineage of the man who arranged the transaction and gave the child its name. For example, if the child has yaws, or one of the tropical sores no one ever escapes, the people of his original clan must not tend or wash him, but this must be done by the adopting clan. The adopting clan must also find the wherewithal to provide him with a wife. If a female child is thus adopted, the adopting clan must arrange the marriage. The currency provided by the husband's people is paid to them, but the clan into which she was born is given a little of it, the amount being arranged by mutual consent. When the time comes to make the feast which reciprocates the payment, the clan to which she originally belonged helps the clan which took her over. The adopting clan provides for the marriage of her children, but such children may, if they please, revert to their mother's original clan. Thus Tatum, the mother of Matarē, was born into the

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Nakarib clan, but the clan Natchi adopted her. The Natchi people duly provided the ceremonial currency for Matarē's marriage. But Matarē considers himself a member of the Nakarib clan.

In the olden days there was another way in which a clan could acquire members by adoption. This was the case of children taken in warfare. Adult prisoners of both sexes were killed and eaten. As a reason for not keeping the women, they said it would not do for the women to be taken to live in the villages of their enemies, they would always be thinking of their old homes and would run away. But the small children, both boys and girls, were brought to the village, and brought up in the families of their captors. They were assigned to the clan of the wife of the man who captured them; she looked after them as if she were their mother. They forgot all about their former home, and if they afterwards met any of their kinsmen in another fight they did not know them and could not talk their language. The names of several people to whom this had happened were given to me, some still living in villages along the North Bougainville coast and in Buka, including that of a woman who had been captured as a girl by the man—now in later middle life—who was talking to me, when he was 'a little fellow just learning how to use an axe'.

Members of certain clans are said to be characterized by the position of the lines on the palms of their hands. The correct positions are shown in the accompanying sketches.

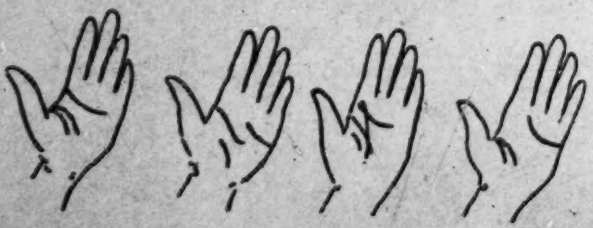

FIG. 3. Diagram showing palms characteristic of clans.

The first three of these were given independently in three different villages, Petats, Kurtatchi, and Sapoea. That for Nagi'ai was added by Sapoea only. No patterns were assigned to the other clans. It is said that a child will always have hands similar to those of his mother. I looked at the hands of a number of people, and when I

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614. 826 pointed out some that did not conform to type they said that those were wrong, but did not attempt any explanation, nor did the discrepancy appear to trouble them at all. One man said they must have got the lines from their fathers.

[171] This belief is found also in Buin, in the extreme south of Bougainville, where it was recorded by Thurnwald (1912, vol. i, p. 536 and Tafel III). He gives drawings of three patterns, one of which, for the Fish-eagle clan (*manugau*), corresponds exactly to the drawing in Fig. 3 for the Naboin (Manu) people.

THE LINEAGE GROUP

613 The clan is, of course, made up of a number of lineage groups. The separate lineage groups seem to have been, in the olden days, far more self-contained than is the case at present, but even now the lineage functions to some extent as a unit with its own internal organization.

613 604 The child whose relations with his fellows we discussed at the beginning of this chapter will be taught from his infancy to regard as the person having most authority over him his mother's eldest brother, whom he calls *tsoanē*, and who calls him *panunē*. But this man is himself under the authority of his own mother's eldest living brother, as long as any survive. The actual head of the lineage, therefore, is its eldest living male. The small child, however, will not at first realize this, since the man in question, his [601] mother's mother's brother, calls him *tsubna'in*, 'grandson', and shows him all the affectionate attention usual in this community between grandparent and grandchild.

613 621 423 The members of a lineage will often be found living together in a hamlet, on ground which they claim as the property of their clan. As a result of the government policy of encouraging the natives to group themselves together in larger villages, for greater ease of supervision, the hamlet, which seems to have been originally the local unit (and, in the mountain districts, still is), is now becoming merged in the village, so that the lineage group no longer dominates the situation as once it did. The older state of things is best illustrated at Saposa, where the people are scattered over a number of tiny islands. Each island was designated as the property of a certain lineage group, in some cases for habitation, in some for growing coco-nuts, in some for purposes of burial. At Lemanmanu, on the Lontis coast (NW. Buka), I was told that in the olden

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considered by the D.O. to be unsuitable by reason of his age, degree of intelligence, or on other grounds. Some other man is then chosen at the discretion of the D.O., and though the natives are obliged to acknowledge him, he continues to rank, in their estimation, as a commoner, and his position is not an easy one, unless he is friendly with the hereditary head of the group. In the village of Tabut, the *tsunaun*, Karabun, refused to be kukerai, but Wasang, the man appointed, was his great friend, and they worked harmoniously together. But when I was collecting genealogies at Tabut, it was emphasized that Karabun and his mother, Tsonkaisa, were the people of importance in that village, and that Wasang was 'a nobody'. In case of actual hostility between the hereditary *tsunaun* and the government-appointed kukerai, the position of the latter, though unassailable, would be far from enviable. The possibility was admitted and discussed, but no instances of it came under my personal observation.

It seems likely that the elective and purely local office of kukerai will, in course of time, entirely supersede the hereditary *tsunaun*, who is primarily, though not exclusively, entitled to allegiance from his own clan. An instance showing that this process is already beginning may be cited from my records. Pinari, *tsunaun* of the Nakarib clan, was appointed kukerai of the village at which he lived, called Gomen. Siani, the *tsunaun* of the Naboin clan, residing at the village of Kurtatchi, about a quarter of a mile away, had been offered the official cap as kukerai of Kurtatchi, but had refused it, saying that he was content to be subordinate to Pinari as kukerai of both villages. He subsequently went off to work as an indentured labourer, returning towards the close of my visit. He now lives at Kurtatchi as an ordinary villager, and takes no part in the conduct of its affairs.

As a result of this substitution of the government-controlled jurisdiction of the kukerai for the traditional jurisdiction of the *tsunaun*, and with the passing of warfare, in which the powers and rights of the *tsunaun* were most clearly apparent, the original state of affairs has become so difficult to disentangle that I am not able to give a clear account of the exact position occupied by the *tsunaun* of the olden days. It is certain that he possessed the power of life and death over those under his jurisdiction, but I have no very clear evidence as to whether he exercised it entirely alone, or how much he conferred, in this and other matters of importance,

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with other *tsunaun* or with the old men of the group. A good deal seems always to have depended on personal character. Although the fact of being *tsunaun* was determined by heredity, and was inalienable, certain people are remembered, while others are forgotten, and it is natural that the man of strong personality would exercise authority far exceeding that of a *tsunaun* who was weak or indolent.

Pinari, in his dual capacity of *tsunaun* and kukerai, claimed as much authority as he dared, and bitterly regretted that the rule of the white man had deprived him of the power of life and death. He adjudicated on disputed questions of all kinds, claimed to have a say in the marriages of the people under his jurisdiction, and arranged for the holding of all important ceremonies. He did, occasionally, confer with the other men of the community, but he resented advice or criticism, unless it was offered with a considerable amount of tact. But he showed great respect for his two sisters, the only kinsfolk of his own generation still living, and sometimes even asked their advice. All three possessed a certain dignity of bearing and carriage that in itself showed that they were conscious of their position.

At the present time, the distinction between *tsunaun* and commoners is still marked by the very apparent deference which is paid by commoners to all people who are *tsunaun*. This was evident both from the respect paid to them in their presence and from the tone in which every one referred to them when speaking to me or among themselves, though there were some who dared to criticize Pinari—behind his back. But the most obvious difference consists of the way in which every event in the life of those who are *tsunaun* is marked by elaborate ceremonial procedure which is either absent, or much modified, in the case of commoners. This applies not only to major events such as birth, marriage, and death, but also to such minor landmarks as the first time the baby is carried on his mother's pack (see p. 189), the first time a girl goes to the bush to collect areca-palm spathes, and so on. With the abandonment of native ritual in consequence of contact with the white man, this last remaining distinction will shortly disappear, as it has already done, to all intents and purposes, at Petats.

The ceremonies attendant upon the life of a *tsunaun* will be described in their appropriate context. Apart from such occasions, people who are *tsunaun* live, and, it would appear, always have

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of a married couple is of more importance than the other, the spouse will take up residence in the village of the partner who has the higher status. In any case, the kindred, as defined above, counts for more than the clan.

The recognized social unit is the lineage, its head is the eldest living male, hence it follows that the person to whom an individual looks as the one officially in authority over him is his mother's eldest living brother. Some lineage groups take precedence of the rest; their members are known as *tsunaun*, and the head of such a group is a person of great authority, though now possessing less than in the olden days.

For the reckoning of descent and succession the mother's side of the house is all-important, the father's side completely ignored, i.e. the community is in this respect exclusively matrilineal. But in the case of inheritance of personal property, either in goods or in knowledge, the society is both matrilineal and patrilineal, that is to say, a man can bequeath such property to his son or to his sister's son, or divide it between them, as he pleases.

Throughout the area there are two main clans, but others, smaller in numbers, though not considered as subdivisions, occur: the names and number of these small clans differ in different districts. With each clan is associated some creature, usually, but not always, a bird, but the association now amounts to little more than that of name, though it may once have been more important. The significance of the clan as a social unit seems to have declined considerably with the abolition of warfare.

Marriage is normally exogamous, but exceptions to this rule seem always to have occurred not infrequently. The important thing is to avoid persons with whom direct relationship can be traced either through the mother or through the father, marriages between cousins and the children of cousins being strongly taboo. (This applies to both parallel and cross-cousins.) The bride is preferably obtained from another village.

The relationship system is a 'classificatory' one, comparable with those found in other parts of Melanesia, with strong taboos regulating social intercourse between certain persons. The most important of these are their regulations applying to the wife's mother–daughter's husband relationship, and to that between the parents of husband and the parents of wife. These restrictions are lifted under certain circumstances.

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strings were shared. This occasion was comparatively devoid of ceremony, because the girl was a commoner.

Up to the time when the strings of *imun* are hung up from the roof of the hut, a girl who is *tsunaun* must remain inside. Her mother has painted her hair with red and black paint (*oin* and *tʃina*), in alternate stripes. If she belongs to the clan Naboin the paint is put on in many narrow stripes, to represent a *sui*, a kind of sea-urchin. If she belongs to the clan Nakarib she has a broad black stripe on each side of her head and a red one in the centre. I could get no explanation of the difference in the patterns, except that they 'belonged to' the respective clans. The *sui* is not a totem. *Beroan* and *imun* belonging to her own people are put on her wrists, and her *ruanbē* (husband's mother) or some one chosen by her, usually the girl's *tauwē* (husband's sister) puts more paint on her hair, on the top of the *usbon* pattern that had previously been put on, so that her head is heavy with paint. Then the *imun* and *beroan* are taken off her wrists and given back to her mother. The strings of currency which were hung up over the *tagoan* are taken down, and all the guests, both men and women, go into the hut, and eat the food that has been provided by the girl's mother. When all have eaten their fill, they go outside, except the boy's mother, who remains inside, looking for a chance to give to the girl's mother a string of *imun* and one of *beroan* which she kept back for the purpose, when the rest of the currency was hung up at the *tagoan*. This is for the girl's mother personally. She does not get any of the strings which were hung up, they go to the girl's *tsoa* and other relatives on both sides of the house. The boy's mother must give these personal strings to the girl's mother secretly, when no one is looking. When she has done so, the two mothers join the rest of the party outside the hut, and all the guests are given food to take back with them in the *kōbū* they have brought on purpose. They get taro, 'possum, pig, *menak*, all in large quantities.

The girl must now go back with her husband's people. But if she is *tsunaun* she is not allowed to walk, so a man who belongs to the same clan as her husband takes her up pick-a-back. If she is small and light she is carried thus all the way to her husband's village, but if she is heavy she is carried only for a short distance outside her own village and then set down. So she comes to the boy's village, and there she must now remain. Once the currency has been handed over, she cannot go back to her mother any more

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taro has been cooked, and taro which has been boiled, not roasted in the embers. The taro for this meal, which must, in consequence of the prohibitions above mentioned, be eaten without its usual relish of fish or flesh, is brought home wrapped up in leaves, so that it is never exposed to view in the open air. The reason given for this precaution is that if it were so exposed, Manu, the big brown eagle, might see it, in which case the child would die. It will be remembered that Manu is the most important totem among these people, but the precaution is taken irrespective of the clan to which the child belongs. Manu appears to be regarded in this connexion as a being of whom the people are afraid, and who has power to harm the new member of the community. The importance of this first meal is further emphasized by the fact that the baby's mother's father, if available, is considered the appropriate person to go and fetch the taro, a task which under ordinary circumstances is never performed by a man. It is brought into the hut by the front or men's entrance (*tagaan*), instead of, as would happen in the usual course of things, by the women's entrance (*babots*).

COUVADE

As soon as the expectant mother feels the pains beginning, her husband must stop working, and remain indoors, not in the hut where his wife is confined, but in that of another of his wives, or of a neighbour. He must spend his time in sitting idle or dozing, and must on no account carry, or even lift, anything heavy, or touch a knife, axe, or any sharp or pointed instrument. To do the former would injure the child, the latter would cause it to die. This continues for three days. On the fourth day he may go into the hut and see his child. After this he is allowed to walk about the village, but must not go outside it. He must still refrain from working. On the fifth day he goes, with his wife, and washes in the sea; these are his first ablutions since the child was born. Then he may take an axe or a knife and go into the hut and pretend to cut the child; this removes the taboo on his use of sharp instruments, and he may now resume his usual activities. In the case of the child whose birth is described in the previous pages, this cutting was not done till the morning of the sixth day, but in discussions on the subject the fifth day was always stated as the appropriate time. It would appear, therefore, that five days is the minimum for the observance of couvade.

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pirpo	lower of two cross-pieces at ends of hut, and across at each house-post. Any kind of wood may be used for these.
tokoman	upper of two cross-pieces at ends and at house-posts.
a tō	sago palm whose leaves are used for thatch. Thatch also called *a tō*.
nin	outer bark of stem of plant of that name used to tie sheets of thatch to the *walwal*.
gerom or *girum*	mid-rib of sago-palm leaf, used to fix leaves together in lengths to make thatch.
tʃir a tō	to prepare the sago-palm leaves by taking out the mid-rib.
kisib	to make the holes for fixing the leaves together.
tʃiku a tō	to fix the leaves together into lengths ready to put on.

The men's house.

The men's house (*tobár*) is made in exactly the same way as the ordinary huts of the village; the size varies according to the number of people who are likely to use it. Besides serving as the sleeping apartment for the boys wearing the *upi*, the *tobár* is the men's club; its front verandah is seldom without a group of men sitting or standing round talking and chewing the betel mixture. To it male guests from other villages are taken on their arrival, each to the *tobár* of the clan to which he belongs.

The *tobár*, two or more, as the case may be, are sometimes placed just outside the main line of huts, from which they may be screened by a hedge of trees or a bit of uncut bush. But often they are placed in the centre of the village, abutting on, or actually in the precincts of, the central space where dances are held. The three *tobár* of the original village of Kurtatchi were a little to one side of the village, and had special paths leading from them to the shore, which might not be used by women, who avoided their vicinity altogether. The two which were constructed after the moving of the village of Gomen to join that of Kurtatchi, were built at one end of the central space, between the two lines of huts added by the Gomen people. The hut of a man who had died was taken down to make room for them, the boys who had shared it with him being afraid to go on living there. Even in that prominent position, the *tobár* were strictly avoided by the women, who always made their way round by the back of the lines of huts.

Ceremony on completion of tobár. The completion of a new *tobár* is signalized by a feast involving the killing of several pigs,

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PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Most of these people take great delight in decorating themselves with ornaments, paint, and flowers, even when nothing special is going on. A few are careless, and can hardly be induced to trim their hair even for an important ceremony; these are the subject of comment on the part of the others, whatever their age or sex. On the whole, the women appear to take less trouble over their personal appearance than do the men; they certainly make less fuss about it. Some of the men—not only the young ones—spend a good deal of time in trimming and putting paint on their hair, carving themselves combs out of bamboo (Pl. 67, no. 9), and searching for aromatic leaves to wear in their armlets or round their necks.

Hair-dressing.

The method of dressing the hair most generally favoured for special occasions is to trim it rather close at the back, and very close at the sides, leaving a small triangular patch just in front of the ears. This cut accentuates the straightness of the sides and back of the head, which is much admired. The general effect is imitated in the wooden figures made for certain ceremonies (see p. 236 and Pl. 28). This method of hair-cutting is called *tʃirkĕ*. Red, black, or yellow paint may be used in conjunction with it. Though almost obligatory on special occasions, it may be worn at any time at the wish of the individual. Round the temples and across the forehead the hair is trimmed to this shape ⟆. To trim it thus is called *genomola*. The line of white paint which usually follows the edge of the hair is called *wakai*, to put it on is *wakamola*. The *wakai* line may not be used by boys wearing the *upi*, until the time of the *watawutʃ* ceremony, when it is put on them at a certain stage in the proceedings.

On special occasions a pattern of black and red (*usboŋ*) is painted on the hair, according to the clan of the individual. Those belonging to the Naboin clan paint the sides black with a broad band of red in the centre, passing from front to back. Those of the Nakarib clan have the side bands red and the centre black.

The face is painted according to individual taste. A splash of bright red covering one ear and another round the eye on the other side, or one broad line going right across, gives a striking effect

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304 852 sacrilege. The ceremony for Nawi was actually arranged, and Nawi was escorted over to Baniu for the purpose, but she and another girl ran away and hid in the bush, a third was ill, and as only one more child was ready for it, the ceremony was abandoned. When I left the island they were still uncertain whether it would be held at all.

The subjoined account of the procedure was obtained mainly from Pari, one of the older women, herself a woman of rank and heavily marked. As usual, it was commented upon freely by the audience, who prompted her when she left out any detail they considered of importance.

[887] The cutting is done by old women. Some people are well known for their skill, and are much in demand. The names of three were [614] given to me, one at Tabut, one at Ruri, and one at Timputs. The woman usually belongs to the same clan as the child, e.g. a Nakarib woman will not, as a rule, undertake to cut a Naboin child; she would be too much ashamed. But if the child's mother's people, i.e. his relatives of the Naboin clan, very much desire the cutting to be done by a certain woman, she may be persuaded to undertake it even though she belongs to the Nakarib clan.

304 565 437 If the child is *tsunaun* and has an elaborate pattern, a fathom of *imun* (currency made of flying fox or porpoise teeth, worth about £5 in native opinion) may be paid for the operation. The child's mother pays it direct to the woman herself. For a commoner, other things of less value are given.

304 852 The children are not told what is going to happen to them. If they find out they often run away.

On the day before that fixed for the operation, a basket is filled with the black-lip oyster-shell knives which are to be used. This basket is rubbed over the back of a pig, which is then allowed to run away. The purpose of this action is to prevent the skin of the child from being hard and difficult to cut. All the women take the basket in turn and carry it round and round as they *kōma*. They *kōma* all night.

Next day the people all collect, and some men go and cut poles to make a platform for the child to lie upon. The women carry the poles back to the village, each woman carrying one. When they reach the village they put the poles on their shoulders and walk round in a circle and *kōma* with them. Then they are laid on the ground in front of the principal house. The men put in posts for

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tsunaun tfan at Tabut, because his forefathers had sold the land where the village of Tabut now stands to Karabun's forefathers for a sum which, Pinari contended, covered only the site of the village, and not the bush behind it, potentially useful for taro gardens. The other side claimed that the payment made for the village site was enough for this also. Pinari used to make spasmodic attempts to extract additional payment from Karabun, but without success.

Land thus vested in the *tsunaun* descends of right to his heir to this office, his eldest sister's eldest son. But all the people of the group have the right to hunt or to gather wild fruits or berries in it, and to take water or fish from pools, or leaves for thatch, &c., irrespective of clan.

Certain spots, a particular group of rocks, a clump of trees, a pool, are considered to be the special property of one or other of the clans, because some spirit is supposed to dwell there who is intimately concerned with that particular clan. This subject will be further discussed in Chapter XV.

The amount of land to be cleared for a new taro garden is decided by discussion, according to the purpose for which the taro is required. The garden is held in common in so far as it is enclosed by one fence, which all the men help to erect, but each man sets up a certain portion of this fence, which he is responsible for keeping in good condition. The Petats people divided the plots according to the uprights in the fence, each man taking, as a rule, the space between two uprights for each of his dependants, e.g. wives and children. The Kurtatchi people divide the garden by means of logs laid on the ground (see Pl. 40). At the original division which takes place when the worst of the bush has been cleared from the new garden, each man will take a plot for each of his wives, one for his sister if she be a widow living in the same village, and sometimes others for his children. A little girl can own a plot of taro, which her mother will help her to tend. The mother will probably destroy this taro if the child dies. For the further clearing of these plots from underbrush the man who annexed them is personally responsible, and his womenfolk must plant it and keep it weeded. They are entitled to take the produce for themselves and their families. If any one wants more taro than there is on her own plot,

earlier deals are still the subject of dispute, the natives asserting that the white men did not pay all that they promised.

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727 266 hanging to the tree for four days and four nights. Then they take him down, and slit up his belly, and wash it, and take out the entrails. They singe his skin, and scrape it, just as if he were a pig. His skin is white underneath. They bury the head, and later on they take it up again and take off the jaw and hang it up in the house. The body they cut into slices, just as we cut up pigs, first they cut it off at the ankles, then at the knees, then at the fork. They cook the pieces in an oven and eat them with taro. This way of cooking a man is called *gohen*.

Some additional details concerning the treatment of a man brought home alive were told by a young Petats man, who got them from his father. He told them with evident enjoyment, and appeared to regret that this sort of thing did not happen any more.

In times before, all the people used to fight. We always won all our fights. They used to eat plenty of men. If a man was taken alive they used to hang him up on a tree and cut pieces off his arm, and his leg, and his shoulder. He would cry out and say: 'Do not cut me, let me go home.' They would say: 'You are not at home now, you are in our place, now we shall eat you.' They did not eat him because they were hungry, but because he was their enemy.'

266 It appeared that the teller's father had not himself eaten human flesh, but had been the son of a great warrior, and, as a small boy, had witnessed the procedure he described. Children were never [858 562] allowed to partake of it; if they did it was thought that they would become dumb. Women did not usually eat it; the reason given was 'because they were frightened'.

266 565 766 614 Two occasions on which human flesh was eaten as part of a ceremony are known to me. One is that marking the elevation to the rank of *tsunaun* of a man renowned in war (described on p. 47) and the other, the burial of the head of an enemy who had been eaten at the stone structure at Tiop, following the birth of a child to a woman 'belonging to the lineage of the stones' (described on p. 537). There are probably others, which did not come under my notice.

266 681 Under certain prescribed circumstances the flesh of their own people was eaten. This was in all cases done as a punishment for having broken a strong taboo. The instances known to me are as follows:

266 681 In case of adultery between relatives who stand to each other in the relation of *watsitsio* (see p. 68). Present punishment—banishment of both from the village.

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and given her ornaments. The men took her again into the canoe and went back to the village. All the people of the village came and asked her: 'Where have you been?' She did not want to tell them, but they kept on asking her, they gave her no peace. At last she said: 'If you look behind you, you will see all my kinsmen coming up.' Then all the kinsmen of the woman came up on to the sand near the village. They were all sharks. (Here the teller explained that they were *urar* who had turned into sharks.) Then the woman said to the people of the village: 'All right, you people come to the shore, come and see my kinsmen.' Then they all went to look, then they understood. Then the woman sent all the sharks away again. She said to them: 'All right, you people go back now, I only wanted to show you to all the men who kept asking me about you, they never stopped asking me, but I did not want to talk about it, so I called you all to show you to the men.'

The man who told me this said afterwards: 'This woman was not an *urar*, she was a real person. I have seen the place where it happened; the man belonging to the place, who told me about it, said she was a relative of his, and he used to eat at her house.'

In most of the cases of this kind of association which came under my notice, it had been inherited from some relative belonging to the same clan, and its possessor did not know how it had originated. In one or two instances, however, the connexion between an individual and a shark was traced back to an ancestor who bore a child in the shape of a shark. Togen (a middle-aged man belonging to the village of Timputs, but living at Kurtatchi since his marriage to one of the daughters of the *tsunaun*), after telling me a story concerning a woman who bore a shark-child,[1] added that his own shark was called Muwatskawits, and lived at Timputs: 'My grandmother (*tubunē*, used for an actual grandparent or for any ancestor farther back) bore it a long time ago.' If a shark from another place wants to eat any of Togen's people at Timputs, Muwatskawits chases him away, and says: 'You must not eat my children. I don't want you to come here. If you don't go back I shall kill you.'

It seems a fair inference, from the use of the word *boanē* to describe this relationship, that the creature is considered to be a member of the same clan as that of the individual associated with it (see the discussion of this term on p. 33). I did not find any indications that certain animals were associated only with persons of any given clan, e.g. sharks with Naboin or crocodiles with Nakarib. It seems to be a purely personal association, but in trans-

[1] This story is given in my paper in *Folk-lore* (1932, p. 83).

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ferring the creature to some one else when at the point of death, the individual apparently chooses a relative belonging to the same clan as himself; this would be natural if the shark were thought to have been born to an ancestor, as in the case of Togen just quoted. They appear to be definitely associated with persons rather than with places, and so differ from the 'tutelary sharks' described by Ivens (1927, p. 230, &c.). Neither do they correspond exactly to the 'familiar' as described on Ulawa by Ivens (p. 239) and on San Cristoval by Fox (1924, p. 231), for they do not bear the name of the person who is associated with them neither do they die when the man dies. Ivens makes mention of 'incarnations' of the dead as sharks, swordfish, crocodiles, megapodes, &c. (p. 187), but he does not indicate whether any association with these is claimed by living individuals.

ASSOCIATION OF *URAR* WITH STONES

As well as the association of *urar* with places, described in previous paragraphs, there is a much more intimate connexion between certain *urar* and particular stones or rocks, the locality and names of which are known to all. The *urar* is not supposed merely to inhabit the stone, or the stone to belong to the *urar*, but the two are completely identified, so that the *urar is* the stone. Associated with many such stones is the belief that at night they again become *urar*, or in some cases human beings, and walk about, or go fishing, or dance.

Where the origin of the connexion between the *urar* and the stone is given, the *urar* is certainly thought to be the ghost of a person who has died; but as in many cases no explanation of the identification was forthcoming, I am not able to say whether this holds true of all. In illustration of this belief may be cited the following:

Two women died and became *urar*. Their name was Kakenmon. (The name seems to belong to the two of them together.) Two children went looking for hermit crabs in holes; the two *urar* stole the children, and took them away. The father of the two children lit a fire and made smoke to drive the *urar* away. Now they are stones, they are on the beach at Rana, two stones, two women, the name of the two stones is Kakenmon. At night they are *urar*, and play on the shore; when the sun rises they become stones again.

A man died and was thrown into the sea. His body came to the surface and drifted, and was caught under some mangroves. Some men who

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with me looking on rather dismayed, but much interested, and offering no objection. They call the stone 'A Pi'. *Pi* means a sore, and they think that any one who touches it will have sores break out on his body, hence, it afterwards transpired, their anxiety about my handling it. As soon as I discovered this, I told them that I had destroyed its evil power by cleaning it, and they were then emboldened to lift it out of the thicket of bush which grew round it and put it into a position where I could photograph it and even to hold it upright while I did so. There proved to be a design on both sides of it (Pl. 77 *a*, *b*). This was recognized by the Petats men who were my companions; they said it was called *gōm*, that the two parts of the pattern belonged together, and that in the olden days they used to cut it on their faces. (I think the word *gōm* simply means a design of any kind, not only this particular pattern.) They had no idea it was there. I took a rubbing of it in case the photograph should be a failure, and the Iltopan native who had brought me and my Petats friends to the spot asked me to make another and give it to him to show to his people, which I did. After I had photographed it I made them put it back into its thicket, but they carefully propped it up against the standing portion and left it so that its pattern was visible from the road. They said that now I had cleaned it they would not be afraid of it any more. As we left, the Iltopan native turned to the stone and said: 'Master, I am coming back presently. You and I belong to the same clan.'

Stone pillar at Tohatchi

On the Government road about half a mile north of the village of Tohatchi, on the east coast of Buka, some four or five miles to the south of the stone pillar just described, there is another, which appears to be unbroken. It stands about 6½ feet high, and is not quite circular in section; its longer diameter measures 12 inches and its shorter 9 inches. The name of the piece of ground on which it stands is Didirowan. It is, however, apparently not in its original position, but was set up by the roadside comparatively recently; owing to the fact that these people do not know how to measure time they could give me no idea how long ago, but it was within living memory. They said also that some boys brought it from Lontis (on the north-west corner of Buka) 'when it was a little stone, about so high (measuring a length of about a foot)', and that it used to be inside their houses; they called it their child and played

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me no information as to whether it had fallen or whether this was its original position.

These stones represent a man and his wife and their two children. The whole group goes by the name of Tohihiu. They are said to 'belong to' a man living in the village, who is of the Nakarib clan; he was described as their kinsman. When a child is born to a woman who is of his lineage the child's mother brings the baby to the place, a pig is killed and cut up, and the stones are washed with its blood. In the olden days it was customary on these occasions to make a raid into the mountains, bring home a prisoner from one of the mountain villages, eat him, and bring his head to the stones with the child: the head was then buried underneath the stones.[1] Then the women would collect quantities of taro 'belonging to the stones'; this would be eaten at the spot. It did not appear that the stones were themselves thought to eat any of it. Whenever a feast is due to be held to mark some epoch in the life of a child of the appropriate lineage, he is taken to the stones, and when the time comes for his skin to be cicatrized, that is done there also. Not very long before my visit a little boy had undergone this operation at the stones. When I examined them there were still traces upon them of the red paint with which they had been smeared on that occasion. (This is not necessarily to be regarded as a substitute for blood, as it is in itself a sacred substance which plays a part in many ceremonial activities, as described in previous chapters.)

Discussion

It was a matter of great concern to me that I could not get more information concerning these stone pillars. I am convinced that the ignorance professed by the natives was not assumed, and that they would have told me more details had they known any more themselves. The surprise of the Iltopan people when I laid bare the design on the stone 'A Pi' was most certainly genuine. It would seem as though the pillars had been set up in times past in connexion with some ritual that has been abandoned for so long that all memory of it has disappeared.

One of the missionaries told me that he understood from the

[1] A short time before my visit fragments of a human skull had been discovered in the vicinity of the stones during some digging in connexion with a new building for the Mission.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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both audience and narrator. That these stories are traditional is clear from the reappearance of certain stock incidents, with minor variations, in tales collected in different villages and told in several dialects. But although everybody knows about these spirits, which are thought to be visible to human beings, I never heard any one say that he had seen one, or even that he knew some one who had!

These bush goblins are of two kinds. One kind is called in the Petats dialect Kirin. They belong to the Manu clan. Those who are 'close to' them (i.e. in kinship) can see them; they will come to such people when called, and are then given food, especially ceremonial pudding, of which they are said to be very fond. I could get no clear idea of exactly what was meant by this connexion. It was described differently from that existing between a person and an *urar*-creature discussed in a preceding section. There are a great many Kirin. They live in holes under stones, especially at places where there is water. They also climb trees. They are described as being about a foot high (height shown by a gesture); they look like human beings, either male or female. Their skin is black; they have long hair, and long nails with which they scratch people in order to kill them. They can make a noise like a whistle. They are not always malevolent, but sometimes helpful to people. On the whole, however, they are regarded as mischievous.

The second kind of goblin is represented in Petats tales by a single individual, called Tatopiok. He belongs to the Kekeleo clan. One old man was named as being 'close to' him. He also lives in the bush. He has very long legs, so long that when he squats down his knees reach above his head. He has long hair, and his body is hairy as well as his head. His skin is light; it was compared to the colour of my own. He is always described as 'a bad fellow'; he comes to houses at night and steals food and ceremonial currency and other portable property and takes it away into the bush. But the Petats people said that now the Mission had come he did not steal any more!

At Kurtatchi the two kinds of goblins were not associated with the clans, nor was anything said about a special connexion between them and certain human beings. The descriptions given were otherwise identical. The 'little people' are called in the Kurtatchi dialect Tukis. The equivalent of Tatopiok is Pinari, also called Pinis, but whereas Tatopiok appears to be considered as a single

of alliances may be found. At present, the allies are almost always in a state of feud with neighboring allies. As a result there is a continual preparedness for war. While working on the plantations, fishing along the coast, etc., bow and arrow are always kept at hand, for an attack can always be expected. Longer and shorter intervals between these feuds occur, of course, but not as the result of a mutual agreement, but as a consequence of unfavorable weather conditions or major losses of men in one party or the other. When disputes arise between allies within these leagues, these too can lead to a temporary feud, but after a certain time peace is negotiated by intermediaries--as a rule by payment. 627

Social Groups, Marriage Customs, Position of Women

In Buka the whole population is divided into two large groups that have as their symbols the chicken and the frigate bird and are named accordingly Kéreu and Mānu, after the two birds. If a man is a Kéreu, then he must marry a Mānu, and vice versa: if he is a Mānu he must marry a Kéreu. The children always inherit the symbol of the mother. In northern Bougainville the same two birds serve as clan symbols: the chicken, Atóa, and the frigate bird, Manū; the situation here is very much like that on Buka. In southern Bougainville and on the islands of the Bougainville Strait very similar conditions exist, but with the difference that a greater number of birds serve as symbols. Also members having the same symbol are not named after the relevant bird but bear their own clan name. The members of the clan who have as their sign the dove (baólo) are called Baumane; those that have the Buceros (popo) are called Sfmāa; those that have the cockatoo (ána) are called Bānahu; those that have the frigate bird (mānua) are called Talapuini; those that have the tigenóu are called Hanapare; those who have the kápi: Talasaggi; those that have tálile: Habubúsu. Members of one clan always marry members of another, but here too it is the established rule that the children belong to the clan of the mother. 616 171 614 616

There is no externally visible clan symbol; everyone seems to know the symbol of the others. Natives of the same clan symbol consider themselves close relatives; if, for example, a Kéreu or a Sfmāa comes to another village, he is received hospitably by the local Kéreu or Sfmāa and given room and board. Clan symbols from the rest of

the animal world do not exist: they are taken solely from the bird world.

Since children inherit their mother's clan symbol, it follows that, if they are girls, they belong to a clan whose members the father can marry and can theoretically be married by him. In practice we find this in Buka and northern Bougainville; there it is not rare that the father is married to his own daughter and has children by her. This is not regarded as forbidden, but a union of two people who have the same clan symbol is considered a crime. In southern Bougainville and on the islands of the Bougainville Strait the very same view prevails, but its practice is not so general as in the north. A similar arrangement probably also exists in the other Solomon Islands. I conclude this from a statement of Woodford in his book Among the head-hunters, p. 40 ff. It says there: "It came to my knowledge that an extensive and widespread system of 'castes' or totems exists upon this and some of the adjacent islands. The name of them on Guadalcanar and upon Gela or Florida is Kema, upon Savo Ravu. At Veisali, at the west end of Guadalcanar, the word used is Kua . . . . The natives told me that man might not marry a woman belonging to his own caste . . . . [7] Of these castes the largest and most powerful is the Gambata." He then also mentions the castes Kiki, Lakoli, Kakau, and Tanakindi.

The native acquires wives in various ways. In part he steals them from a neighboring tribe and marries them if the clan symbol allows it; if not, he sells the stolen woman to a native whose symbol allows him to marry her. In by far the most cases, however, he barters for his wife. As medium of exchange he makes use of the current money varieties. In Buka a wife costs from four to six fathoms of white shell money (hēruanne) or two to four lengths of tooth money (baĩu and rāki). On the islands of the Bougainville Strait a wife costs from five to ten fathoms of white shell money (pālassale) or one to two fathoms of red shell money (mismis). On the mainland of south Bougainville the same two types of money are used as media of exchange, but in addition one called mānei, which is made on Shortland and serves especially for the trade dealings of the islanders with the mountain people. The latter uses as a medium of exchange exclusively the mānei imported from the Shortland Islands; they call it aputa. This money has substantially less value; one needs twenty to thirty fathoms